

1794 C. J. Lefevre

STATE
OF
FRANCE,
IN

MAY, 1794.

R. Rognes de Montgaillard (M. J.) Comte

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL OF

LE COMTE DE MONTGAILLARD,

BY

JOSHUA LUCOCK WILKINSON,

OF GRAY'S INN.

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THE
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I RETURNED into France, after the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, to collect, if possible, the wreck of a fortune, necessary to the existence of my wife, and children, then emigrants; and I lived near eighteen months at Paris, uninterrupted.

The wish of being useful to my king, and my country, could alone prompt me to surmount every obstacle, and approach the tyrants, that oppress us. I saw their manners, and character; I know their means and projects; and I shall describe them without vanity, and without fear.

I escaped from the dangers, which every where surrounded me, affecting an exterior of frivolity, and dissipation, which hushed suspicion; and I left France, after

having studied the Revolution in the midst of its horrors.

The perils, and the motives, which determined me to expose myself to them, should have elevated me, above the suspicions of malevolence. They know not how to estimate the possession of a conscience irreproachable, and firm in the rectitude of its intentions; but in the purity of my motives, I feel my reward.

Journalists, thoughtless, and wicked men, may make me, like themselves. I shall say the truth—I shall publish facts, and observations, important to the community; and I am ready to account for the actions of my life to any other, than vile impostors.

June 25, 1794.



TRANSLATOR's

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

AS the Translator undertook this Work without acquainting the Count of Montgaillard, he does not conceive himself obliged to confide implicitly in that gentleman's statements. The reader will find some contradictions; and though a father is generally blinded to the defects of his own bantling, the want of symmetry seems to have even struck the eye of the intelligent Author; and the contradictions are excused, because "a Revolution, (p. 51) both produces, and explains them."

If the project of this Pamphlet was intended to increase the alarm, already widely excited in this country, it will, perhaps, fail in the attempt; for though it supplies ample food for the Alarmist, and oppresses the present leaders in France with the most opprobrious epithets, it shews, that the power of the existing government is more firmly established, than in England we had believed.

The Author imagines, that the Committee of Public Safety cannot resist a war for two years longer; but should this commercial nation, suspend the greater duties of humanity for the purpose of extirpating this Germ of Revolution, (p. 49) we are not assured, that our most vigorous exertions could effect any thing important; and since the minister of this country makes war till that distant period, the extirpation of the present
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men, we may dread, that "the deputies (p. 45) of great influence, even Robespierre himself, may go to the scaffold, "and yet produce no essential change in affairs."

-We cannot now expect (p. 44) any great internal insurrection; and as the National Convention have survived (p. 57) the thirty-three counter-revolutionary assemblages, which last year distracted France, we may be convinced, that their power is not maintained by force alone, or by the sole dread of the scaffolds.

The French nation have abjured, like our ancestors, the errors of the Catholic church; but bounding, with their national levity, from the extremes of blind confidence to the verge of absolute licentiousness, they have too abruptly destroyed the establishments of religion. To the Englishman, who views this mighty whirlwind, beyond the influence of its vortex, their efforts appear to have been directed by madness. The rational philosopher, or political calculator, is astonished at the infatuation: but the classic, who contemplates the renewal of Gymnasia triumphal festivals, &c. will, perhaps, deny that the crimes of Greece and Rome commence, (p. 47) and will with difficulty infer, "that peace, accommodation, or negotiation, (p. 48) "with their Republic, will be the most violent outrage upon "social order."

If the expences of the Republic are great beyond former calculations, if the months of March and April (p. 38) cost such immense sums to the Republic, we must not forget, that seven-ninths of the soil (p. 36) are *nationalized*; that the coffers of the Convention contain equal to twenty millions of our money; and that to the three millions sterling in the mint (p. 38) daily additions are thrown in. Some captious reader may doubt

doubt the exactness of the calculations of resources, and expenditures; and the French Democrat, though he may curse the necessity of the vast profusion of public money, warmly expatiating upon the beneficial projects (p. 53) of canals, and upon the national institution in the plain of Sablons, will attempt to palliate their tyrannies. A benevolent Howard would find incredible (p. 43) numbers to exercise his prison-charity upon; but yet could he reduce them, even to a fifth of the calculation, he would more joyfully repose in the iron-hearted dungeons of Imperial Despotism. Humanity, however, would direct his eye from the bloody page, (p. 43) which stains France with the daily massacre of three hundred persons, to the fond hope, that Paris (p. 19) executes the majority of the victims of the departments.

The attempt of conquering France, on the side of the Netherlands, seems now relinquished; and the Republican armies, increased by the fame of victories, or the hope of plunder, threaten the independent existence of Holland, and perhaps may now realize the *royal* ambition of making the Rhine their barrier. To draw off the numerous bands of troops, which have passed the Northern frontier, the Maritime powers may attempt a junction with the Royalists of La Vendée. But their forces are reduced; and perhaps the progress of the Allies might be (p. 28) circumscribed by the same democratic cause, which repelled the mighty energy of the "simple, and virtuous, peasants of Poitou."

At the commencement of this expensive war, Englishmen were flattered with the hopes of destroying a rival power; and by the *cordon* of ships, which we dreamed of drawing round their coasts, to intercept their corn, and external resources, we should finally starve them into compliance. But these delu-

five

five hopes are now vanished (p. 30); economical regulations have restored plenty, and abundance; and neutral vessels, regardless of the bullying despotism of a great maritime power, arrive daily to their assistance. But should "bread be less abundant, more soldiers would flock to the frontiers (p. 31); and the Allies would then have a new despair to combat, another obstacle to conquer, and a greater danger to avoid."

July 26, 1794.



ETAT DE LA FRANCE.

IN MAY, 1794.

THOUGH the National Convention possess neither their confidence nor esteem, the French people will soon sanction the dispositions of order and property that it decrees; it has long reigned by terror, but will soon demand respect, if it can this year resist, or rather repel the Allies from the frontiers of France. Time gives strength to the Assembly; and the assassinations, which it sanctions, are already in name softened into acts of necessary rigour. The government will be consolidated, when the executioners are no longer seen; and the moment is not far distant, when the places, now appropriated for public executions, will witness the celebration of public festivals.

The majority of the Convention neither adopt the principles, nor the measures of the Committee of Public Safety. A third of this Assembly

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bly are friends of Royalty ; and a tenth only are infatuated with a republic, constituted solely of Roman names, of impunity, and equality. A great part of the Deputies alike dread the axe of the Dictator, and the sword of the foreign powers : they tremble under the tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety ; they detest every individual member of it. But this Committee, despised and feared, has preserved them from the chastisement of Europe ; they are averse to it, they fear, but they serve it.

Two hundred (') of the members who compose the sittings of the Assembly, deliberate upon and discuss the regulations of the Administrations, the Police, and Finance ; and their most important function is to announce the nomination of the president and the secretaries. Occupied with sanctioning the arrests, and the laws, which the Committee of Public Safety condescends to submit to them, they dare propose nothing without its consent ; ignorant of the most important objects, and *decisive* resolutions, they preserve their name, but have lost all the powers of the national representation.

The Committee of Public Safety, in whom are concentrated the power, the action, and the right of sovereignty, bow to Robespierre ; Barriere and

and St. Just are his secretaries, not his colleagues. They partake his dangers, but not his authority. They are only individuals, and will not long escape. Members even of that order, upon whom they exercise the most refined tyranny, they have avoided, as well as the seventy-four deputies of the Convention, the proscription, launched by the last decrees against the wretched remnant of the nobility, still at Paris; but inevitable circumstances will make their dishonour and baseness the cause of their destruction,

The eight other Members of the Committee expedite its labours, but direct it not: fellow tyrants of Robespierre, with him they oppress France, but tremble at his approach. The Committee of General Surety receive and execute his orders; they direct only the measures, which the internal safety of the Convention and Republic demands, and inspire fear to none, but their accomplices, or the victims, which France contains. They are entire strangers to the affairs, which agitate Europe. They superintend the general police of the empire, watch the discontented, pursue both the rich, and obscure, receive and excite denunciations, and above all, execute the arrests, ordered by the Committee of Public Safety.

This indefatigable vigilance of a tyranny, the most atrocious, but which they call *Police Generale*, reaches, without distinction, to all ranks and individuals. The Members of the Convention are more exposed to it, than the other citizens; none of their proceedings are unknown; their actions and discourses are watched by an invisible spy, who never leaves them. The pretexts of a continual conspiracy against the people excuse all the violence and domiciliary visits, that torment, without a moment's ease, both the towns and the country. There is not a single man, be he Deputy, Administrator, Agent, or simple Citizen, who can assure himself of undisturbed repose, and who sees the night fall without fear: there is not a cottage in France, where poverty can forbid the approach of the Denouncer, or the Requisitionary; and human subtilty, till now, failed of alarming the imagination and perpetuating terror.

Insurmountable difficulties attend the traveller: the moment that he leaves his neighbourhood, he is infested by the supporters of this tyranny; and by the aid only of formalities, as difficult to obtain, as frequently changed and renewed, can he remove without exposing his property and liberty. The affections of the heart are dissolved, and the relations of society suspended,

pended. The most absolute egotism has every where sprung from this general tyranny ; the most intimate friend, the dearest parent, the most worthy benefactors are forgotten, betrayed, and abandoned upon the first suspicion of incivism ; the accused is left without defenders, and it is as dangerous to be the friend, as the enemy of a Deputy, or Administrator.

The thirty Commissioners, or Committees, amongst whom are divided the labours of the Convention, have no share of the government ; they are entirely ignorant of the great external and internal measures, which are exclusively taken by the Committee of Public Safety ; but the greatest activity every where reigns in the execution.

The Military Committee, directed by Carnot, La Fitte, d'Anissi, and many other individuals, whose only talents are crimes and wickedness, draw the plans of attack and defence, combine their operations, and adapt their military tactics to the spirit of the revolution. From the memoirs, and from all the precious vestiges of the exploits, the zeal, and intelligence of the great Generals, Ministers and Statesmen, who adorned our monarchy, these villains have extracted the means of its annihilation.

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The Committee of Finance, unremittedly employed in deceiving the nation upon the deplorable state of public fortune, are every day increasing the vortex, which must finally swallow all up. The most unwarrantable calculations, resources the most illusory, and conclusions the most exaggerated, are impudently presented by their great organ, Cambon, to the Assembly, and are decreed without examination. This ignorance, in an affair so important, contributes to blind the people; and upon the paper currency, which destroys and invades all property, he stamps a value, which necessity and terror hath hitherto maintained.

Every thing acts in concert with the Committee of Public Safety, laws are made, roads constructed, and canals dug almost at the same instant (*). The arts and sciences are called upon to consecrate their crimes; workshops and military manufactories are every where founded to defend them. The most abundant resources are lavished; public schools instituted, and the French language is carried to the foot of the Pyrannees, and amidst the heaths of the Lower Brittany. One sitting frequently produces thirty decrees upon objects the most opposite; spend fifty millions to execute them, and erect every where scaffolds to maintain them: in a word, the Committees

mittees may be considered as offices; the National Convention, as a Court of Registry; and the Committee of Public Safety, as the Privy Council of Robespierre.

What then is this man, whom an ascendancy so prodigious, and circumstances so extraordinary, have conducted, almost at once, to the sovereignty, across the quicksands of a Revolution, which widely engulfed its authors and accomplices?

Nature seemed to have destined him to an obscure fame at the bar, and she conferred upon him a chicanery and perfidy, which might have assured him success. "All that I would desire," said he, in 1784, "is to become Procureur-General of the Parliament of Paris; I should then be spoken of!" In that situation he saw the means of quenching that insatiate thirst of fame, of which he was so ambitious; and we may thence presume the motives of his entering the States-General.

He there appeared a silly demoniac, and left it impressed with a contempt of his talents, and forgetful of his person, to enjoy a place at the criminal tribunals; but leaving them, without having exercised his functions, his civism was clouded by a momentary disgrace.

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! He invariably espoused the party of the Jacobins ; the République was always in his mouth, but never at his heart ; and he did not sincerely abandon monarchy, till the tenth of August had deprived it of resources at Paris. He certainly had little influence on that execrated day ; Petion, Manuel, and Kersaint, planned it to destroy the royal authority, and usurp the Ministry. In this momentous period, Robespierre was not seen ; he has been often reproached with the *prudence* with which he shrunk from dangers ; but he seems to have been deeply imbrued in the massacres of the second of September.

In July, 1792, he printed “ *Representative government, and monarchical modification, alone, suited to an empire extended, and ancient as France.* ” Absurd contradiction ! but which discovers his character ; for, in the month of September following, he permitted the Brissotine faction to receive from the hands of the Abbe Syeyes, the decree constituting the Republic.

After the retreat of the Combined armies, Robespierre discovered his designs ; and then only, perhaps, he had conceived them ; but he has never lost sight of them since. The assassination of his King appeared necessary to his ambition ; and he principally caused it. Weighing the
strength

strength of his adversaries, he forced the Brissotins to appeal to the people, and then using that dreadful weapon, whetted the blood-thirsty Jacobins to their pursuit. He skilfully took advantage of circumstances, and the faults of his enemies, and, through all the incidents of the Revolution, he increased his partizans and supporters in the tribunes of the Jacobins.

Robespierre is in complexion weak and puny; his figure dark and livid; his sight short and weak, and his voice nearly gone: he possesses none of those natural advantages, which prepossess, or seduce the multitude; he is almost passionless, or rather, perhaps, he conceals with the most profound art, what would detract from his popularity and success. In the eyes of the people he possesses a character of incorruptibility, which hath preserved his influence against all the attacks of the Brissotins, and of the Commune of Paris. Solely confined, in appearance, to his functions of Member of the Committee of Public Safety, and of Jacobin, Robespierre shews every appearance of the most unaffected man. This modesty in triumph, this economy of person, and the obscurity of his private life, have so long secured him the popular favour: he lives as he did in 1790, neither altering his manners, nor his taste, and always changeless. Sheltered

tered behind the populace, whose excesses he favours, speaking little, but to the point; magnifying the errors of his adversaries, in all the events of the civil and foreign war, he boldly seized the direction of the Revolution from the hands of the timorous Brissotins, who trembled at the sight of the scaffolds, which could alone confirm their power. To their stratagems and plots, Robespierre opposed the energy, and crimes of the Jacobins, and he decided the Revolutions of the 30th of May, first and second of June, 1793, which surrendered to him the Assembly, and Paris.

He soon coalesced with the furious Marat, whose principles and high character maintained so much influence over a populace, whom he incessantly invited to murder and pillage. He declared himself the friend of this man, dangerous as ignorant; and when the Brissotins united all their efforts to conduct him to the Revolutionary Tribunal, Robespierre persuaded him to leave his hiding-place, and seat himself before the Judges: he prepared his triumphal return to the Assembly, but this moment he chose for his destruction.

It is sure, that a slow poison was insinuated, through the means of Robespierre, into the
veins

veins of Marat ; and, by destroying him in the height of his popularity, Robespierre intended to seize this very infatuation, and direct the public opinion, against a faction, whose chiefs he dared not deliver to the Tribunals. He made use of this very faction, which he subjected, to find an assassin, who might conceal his crime, and be herself conducted to the scaffold (3).

He composed with Herbert, upon Atheism, destroyed with Gobet every trace of Catholicism (4) ; and, with Camille Desmoulins, he cherished the virtues of clemency ; and them he again consigned to punishment ; and, reserving to himself the right of imposing a religion upon France, he determined not to give his country repose, till she had submitted to his power.

Thus he has overturned every thing ; and the nation, apparently restored to its rights, obeys from gratitude.

Danton, for a long time, gave him great inquietude : he too aspired to the sovereign power, and his claims, to the Dictatorship, were founded upon a great character, and a courage, that laughed at dangers. Robespierre persuaded him into Belgium (5) to make his fortune, in hopes to prove his criminality, and be the means

of his accusation; and he ceased not to work his ruin. Assuming the garb of friendship, and inviting him to a seat in the Committee of Public Safety, from thence he issued the order of his arrest, the act of his accusation, and the judgment of death. Nine days were sufficient to destroy this powerful rival.

Born with an only ordinary genius, destitute of those great talents, which create, continue, and decide a Revolution, Robespierre is much inferior to the dangerous and elevated situation at which he aims; but he reigns by the terror, which he inspires, and by the corruption of the enemies, he contends with. Vindictive to excess, pride and self-love govern him: his party is confined to himself and Abbe Syeyes, the most dangerous of his directors. Suspicious and fearful, without friends, and without affections, Robespierre, remorseless, sacrifices his partizans and his enemies. The Abbe Syeyes, for whom he destines the patriarchal chair of his new religion, will perish the moment he is no longer useful, or when his influence makes him dangerous. La Clos, though imprisoned for six months, with all his vices, yet dreams of purchasing his liberty by digesting his orations; and Gregoire still serves him with zeal and indefatigable labour.

Robespierre

Robespierre aims at sovereignty ; but he dare not assume the name, though every day his voice is more dreaded. Absolute master of the empire, his power is firmer than Oliver dismissing his parliament ; and the Convention, fearless of lessening her authority, daily augments his, and lays at his feet the sanction of the people, and her own fears. The authorities, much stronger than his power (and this distinction is in his favour) are so confident of him, that it will require the greatest efforts to destroy it. He is still without guards, and without distinction ; the provisioning gives him no inquietude ; and he is praised for his apathy. He assures abundance, and revolutionary indiscipline to the armies, which compose his strength ; and in the interior, crimes and want confirm their submission. The palaces and temples are his arsenals ; his fellow citizens are his soldiers ; and the moment approaches, when they must be his subjects, or his judges.

If we speak of his accomplices, Barrere, whose only talent consists in that low cunning, with which he hath always managed the ruling faction, a true college pedant, bad poet, ignorant lawyer, an unwearied and false reporter of misfortunes and victories, of festivals and laws ; but Barrere neither merits attention for his power,
 person,

person, or his crimes. St. Just, suspected of making a separate party, possesses both information and genius, but is violent in his means. Billaud Varennes thinks only of blood; and the ferocious Couthon, upon the brink of death, to which his debaucheries have precipitated him, directs only the assassinations (⁶). Collot d'Herbois presents vice in all its horror, and with a soul fearless of consequences.

I am convinced, as well from the voluntary, as forced confessions, that the Committee of Public Safety find their greatest enemies in the bosom of the Convention; but their keen fight-ed tyranny, and the means, which the presumed holiness of their cause has allowed them to exercise, have broken both factions and parties. Their personal safety, and individual existence, are the sole objects of their hopes, or fears: they are permitted to live, because they serve, without partaking the sovereignty. They commit crimes, because they will be sent to the scaffold the moment they repent, pity the unhappy, or discourage the assassinations; and, by their villainies, they ensure to day, and supplicate the safety of to-morrow.

They joyfully leave this bloody theatre, where their colleagues, at the scaffold, daily menace them

them with the same justice. Invested with unlimited power, they travel into the provinces to inspire the same fear, which pursues them. Their own safety, the indispensable necessity of obtaining the suffrage of the Revolutionary Societies, and of acquiring and preserving the popularity, which alone guarantees their existence, forces them to many vexatious proceedings, and to acts of tyranny, of which the annals of mankind produce no examples.

For this reason, the Committee of Public Safety wink at their vices, and the prodigality, that attends them ('). The most insulting luxury, every where, marks their route, as well as the blood they shed. Corruption precedes them; and the Constituted Authorities, wait in silence, their decrees, proscriptions, and death: at their nod, the Authorities are broken, and created; the Committee of Public Safety recal, denounce, and even calumniate these tyrants, and reproach them with the execution of their own orders. Though Pro-consuls in the departments, these Commissioners are slaves, trembling before the Committee, and mutes in the Convention.

Twelve commissions replaced the six Ministers; but their members are chosen by the Committee of Public Safety; and to this the Revolutionary

lutionary Tribunal have also taken the oath of obedience. The Administrative Authority of the Departments devolves upon the Convention; but the influence of the Departments, as well as of the Districts and Municipalities, is confined to the imposts, the distribution of succour, national sales, and the maintenance of the interior.

The popular societies still exercise the powers of vigilance and censure in the Republic; they are under the protection, and direction, of the Committee of *Sûreté Générale*; but the Revolutionary Committees, to whom all real authority and power are entrusted, and who ever exercise it against the Administrative Bodies, and Popular Societies, hold immediate and direct correspondence with the Committee of Public Safety, and are, in fact, its submissive and blind agents. They have reposed the Sovereignty upon its bosom, and they will soon lay their powers at its feet. The execution of this project, which surrenders the nation into the hands of ten tyrants, all submissive to one, is devised with all the wisdom and energy, to avoid danger, and ensure success.

The Committee of Public Safety, affrighted with the number of agents, which it had every where spread through the Republic, soon felt the necessity of reducing (if its external situation produces

produces no inquietude) the twenty thousand Revolutionary Committees, those instruments, necessary to universal destruction, auxiliaries of their tyranny: they have felt the necessity of reducing them to seven or eight hundred despotic authorities, a number, at present, sufficient to answer for the obedience of the cities and districts. The Committee intends to recal into its bosom, all these portions of Sovereignty, and of crimes, which it had before so profusely abandoned to them. By the Rights of Man, they invaded all property, and social order; and by the same, they will impose them again.

The public force will second these measures in the Departments; but that of Paris, composed of near one hundred and thirty six thousand men, of whom an half are armed as soldiers, is fatigued by a service, which continually calls for new exertions. Distracted with their daily occupations, they reluctantly obey a Chief, generally despised, without vigour, and without character, whose head will soon pay the forfeit of his base condescension and nothingness (⁸). He transmits orders, but he gives none: the best, but least numerous, of his armed force, would direct it, without hesitation, against the Committee of Public Safety, at the prospect of some great event; and this disposition is so well

known, that the Committee directs it with the greatest care, and entrusts to him the mere discipline only.

The municipality of Paris is connected to the Committee of Robespierre by the mayor and national agents (⁹), two chiefs, submissive and devoted to their interests, whose personal powers neither accord to their situation, nor to the circumstances, which every where surround and menace them. Their partizans are their particular creatures, always chosen by the interests of the moment. Two hundred administrators of this commune, still formidable, support, but partake not, the tyranny, that subjects them. Their obedience, which is only passive, is precisely that of the majority of the Convention. Guided by the same motives, they will pursue the same conduct; and they all regret the constitution, which sunk on the 10th of August.

The Sections of Paris, or the forty-eight Revolutionary Committees, in whom is confided, by the necessity of the existing circumstances, all the power of the Committee of Public Safety, will easily sacrifice them to a popular insurrection, loudly manifested. Their members, always in secret opposition with leaders of the Commune, always in intelligence with the Administrators,

trators, take no other concern in public affairs, than their own personal interest directs, sapped by every kind of séduction with the same success. These Committees endeavour to subject the Committee of Public Safety to the orders of the Convention, in the measures even of dispatch, not before decreed. They frequently arrest the proceedings of the public force, when directed by the mayor, without the decree of the Assembly. A very great majority of the Sections would turn their influence, and authority, against the Committee of the Dictator, if an essential alteration, called for on all sides, was announced by a protection, powerful in its means.

The slavery, under which the capital groans, is maintained by force; and the Committee, experiencing the extreme difficulty of this violent situation, employs every means to redouble their precautions and tyrannies, to multiply their crimes, and to ordain the most rigorous punishments, against the weak and temporizing authorities. The victims, suspected of conspiracy against the republic, are dragged to Paris. The continuation of punishments (still dangerous in the departments, where the public mind has not yet renounced every principle of humanity) increases every day the alarms of the capital; and

the indefatigable executioners must not repose an instant from their labours, till they have forced an entire submission.

Oppressed with domestic chagrin, and public calamity, surrounded by the scenes of desolation and carnage, which have stained Paris, the innocent individual drags on a painful and grievous existence; and death, daily presented before his eyes, loses half its horror. A strict imprisonment terrifies much more than the scaffold, which terminates it. But this stupor, this total enervation, have so palsied their souls, and frozen their hearts, that the man who even despises death, has not the courage to provoke it, and sacrifice one of these monsters, whose punishment vengeance calls for. They all hold their lives upon the most precarious tenure.

And yet on the first appearance of a fine day, and on the representation of each new piece, a gaping multitude crowd the theatres and promenades⁽¹⁰⁾; they renounce neither projects nor vices. Levity and fashion resume their places; new houses are built with the same celerity as they commit their villainies; and the most expensive furniture decorate them. Suspicion seizes upon the property of the imprudent proprietor; but his fate instructs not the more imprudent

prudent purchaser. Avarice was never so general, never so dangerous. Elegant entertainments, delicate wines, are eagerly sought for in all the public places. Every one endeavours to enjoy the moment, and give one day to pleasure; and they coldly regard the evils to which they are resigned. The wretch contemplates the victim at the scaffold, and thence running to one of the twenty theatres, continually crowded, forgets for a moment the terrors and dangers which surround him; but returned to his house, where the seals and the bailiffs are waiting for him, he soon atones for that transient ease, which suspended his torments.

The Committee of Public Safety have directed the attention, the fears, and agitation of Paris to the affairs of Europe, to the war, and the factions. They have destroyed the splendor of equipages, of dresses, and of servants; but they have replaced them by an expence, more suited to their new empire, by an industry, wholly military, which employs their workmen, whom the want of labour had rendered dangerous. The restless activity of the people are turned to profit by their agitators. Two hundred thousand hands are, night and day, busied to forge the pikes of insurrections, and the musquets of the army; and a thousand, or eleven hundred, are daily

daily finished in the workshops of this city ("). One hundred pieces of cannon (four, six, and eight pounders) are monthly cast; and the exertions of the establishments of Meulan, of Corbeil and Fontainebleau, as well as those of each department, is correspondent with this dreadful activity. All classes of citizens concur in these objects; they feel the necessity of repose, and they believe, that the most vigorous efforts can alone procure it. They have lost every sentiment of fear, which the foreign powers once excited, and they all obey.

To retain the public mind in all its follies, the most bloody outrages are lavished daily in the tribunes, and on the stage, against kings and sovereigns. Whatever can inflame the mind and corrupt the heart, whatever tends to encourage crimes and create regicides, is offered to the multitude with every seduction of novelty; it captivates and blinds them. The virtues and vices of history are alike abused; and they recall to memory the crimes of every country and every age. Tri-coloured flags, capped with a *bonnet-rouge*, float upon every house; surcharged with emblems of the most outrageous licence, and inscriptions of the most shocking nature. Death is the indubitable lot of the weak and undecided characters, who hesitate to be faithful

to

to their despotic equality. The busts of every regicide, from Brutus to Ankerstrom, are placed in the Convention, and in all parts most suited to encourage them; and continual feasts are imposed upon the people, to excite them to outrage and vice (").

In opposition to the plots so perfidiously projected, the events that have taken place, both within and without France, appear to the class of uninformed people, unanswerable reasons in favour of their legislators, and victorious arguments against the kings. The anarchists meditate to assassinate them, the *modérés* recoil, fearful that they must serve them, after their property is ravaged and burnt. The Convention and the Jacobins imagined, and the war and the factions have propagated and established, through the greatest part of France, this opinion, which now disciplines the rage of her armies:—"That Europe
 " made war both upon the French Monarchy, the
 " Jacobins, the Sansculottes, and Royalists; upon
 " the country, as well as upon its principles; that
 " the dismemberment of the soil, and their country,
 " was still the object and the end; that the evacuation of Alsace, the burning of Toulon, the
 " impotent attachment of this city and La Vendée to their princes, and the capitulations of
 " Mayence and Valenciennes, were the proofs
 " and

“ and consequence of these motives of war ; that
 “ the clergy and nobility did not coincide with
 “ this successive adhesion of the cabinets to the
 “ general cause of Governments ; that their indif-
 “ ference to the misfortunes of the House of
 “ Bourbon, would eventually furnish to the
 “ wicked oppressors of France, the means of
 “ ending the war advantageously by some sacri-
 “ fices ; and that the inactivity and interest of
 “ the Allies would soon produce negociations,
 “ which, were they not victorious, would be ad-
 “ vantageous, both to the criminal, and unhappy
 “ parties in this country.

“ That if these projects were not meditated
 “ by the combined powers, they had at least
 “ granted to the Royalists, the proclamation of
 “ a King, and the definition of their intentions
 “ upon an object so dear ; they had guaranteed
 “ to France, in most positive terms, her Mo-
 “ narchical Government, property, and rights ;
 “ they explained the silence, which gave rise to
 “ their fears, justified their suspicions, and pro-
 “ voked their resistance : they at last even ex-
 “ plained the articles of the treaty of peace,
 “ which should be presented to, or imposed up-
 “ on, a great nation.”

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By such words they apologize for their impostures and wickedness; and these expressions are even collected from the mouths of the Leaders of the factions. I wish to draw a faithful picture of the perfidious means, employed against the credulity and ignorance of the multitude; and, I am convinced, that my assertions will be confirmed by the testimony of every person, who has lately left France, and who merit any confidence.

The secret measures, imputed to the coalesced powers, admit such suspicious interpretations, that, when fatigued with punishments, the executioners repose a moment from their labours, the Jacobins even represent to the Royalists, the common interest of their country, and of the land, which the foreign powers are determined to conquer and destroy: "And are we not all Frenchmen?" cried one of their Chiefs (¹³), during the celebration of an epoch of the Revolution: "the Royalists," continued he, with the same effrontery, "will be attacked by the foreign powers; they may perhaps protect their party; but will forget every one, who aided not their projects."

To draw a complete scale of degrees, through which the public opinion hath passed, to the pre-

sent moment of general inactivity, I must premise, that Toulon was delivered up to the Constitutional King, and that the English and Spaniards were his deliverers. The gates of this city were opened to Monarchy ; but Toulon, the hope of France, has again destroyed, in its fall, that impassioned loyalty, so fatal to the inhabitants of this city.

I must add also, that the absurdity of public opinions had so pervaded this unhappy realm, that the Convention attempted to excuse the death of the King, by persuading the people, that he had violated his oaths, and united all his efforts to overturn a Constitution, which the people loved, and with sorrow consented to its destruction.

France is convinced, that if the conditions, upon which Toulon surrendered, had been scrupulously fulfilled, a great majority would have joined the foreign powers ; yet every rational Royalist, both within, and without the realm, is sensible, that the Constitution of 1789, more Democratic than Monarchical, is the first cause of their misfortunes.

La Vendee supports my assertion. This war, whose reverses astonish, more than its victories,
and

and which yet survives its losses, and its means, affrighted the hearts of the tyrants, and threw consternation into the bosom of the Assembly; and France then believed, that the Revolution would find the same tomb, as its defenders and accomplices. Five hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and near 160,000 musquets were taken from the Republic, or lost to its defenders; and it cost the lives of two hundred, or two hundred and twenty thousand men, and 900 millions (£37,500,000 sterling) to stop the progress of this alarming war. The garrisons of Mayence, and Valenciennes, entirely perished; and a part of the subsistences, necessary to the consumption of Paris, then diverted, have never since returned to their channel (¹⁴). The requisitions, levies, and masses, have wasted, and depopulated this part of the Republic; and these departments will long feel its calamitous consequences.

When this triumphant army had traversed the Loire, when its colours floated in the Maine and Normandy; France and Paris hoped for a decisive event: the Fates ordered otherwise; but the National Assembly was involved in all their fears.

La Vendee, the sole cause of fear to the Convention, and the only danger, which menaced

the Republic, displayed this mighty energy, because the simple and virtuous peasants of Poitou, almost strangers to the rest of France, and to its religious and political novelties, differed totally from the numerous classes of Patriots; and in this part, all the members, united by the same motive, and in the same cause, attacked the whole classes of Diffidends. This very reason, however, circumscribed their progress, and prevented the junction of the other Departments, almost generally infected with the constitutional democracy, or favourable, from political calculation, to the restoration of that Constitution. To prove, that the majority of France adopted this opinion, we should remark, that the people, most bitterly persecuted by the Convention, were the Constitutionalists, on account of the facility of rallying all the other malcontents, except those of La Vendée.

The Convention were so convinced of the extent of the dangers, which threatened their power, in the opinion, and mind of the people, that a force of seventy-five thousand men, distributed at Nantes, at Rennes, and Rochelle, have never quitted those Departments, whom it now with difficulty holds in subjection, and against whom it is intended to guard, as much as La Vendee. The excess of wretchedness, under which

which groans every Frenchman, that is not an agent or a satellite of the Convention, as well as their prejudices, and constitutional opinions, have prevented them from estimating the real value of the means, employed to deliver them. If great succours had been immediately granted to La Vendee, they would have, and perhaps may yet rally the inhabitants, unfixed in their principles; but at present they have only one thought, one sentiment—to escape tyranny. It is still the general opinion in France, that a counter Revolution can only be effected in La Vendee; and that, if immediately succoured, her successes may be decisive: but they never were in greater want of them, than at this moment. The separation of their bands, the weakness of the corps, and the desertions, which want, fear, and discouragement have occasioned among the peasants, have reduced their forces to twenty-four thousand men (¹⁵). When I left France, it was generally believed, that these brave warriors could not regain the formidable situation, which the last year encouraged our greatest hopes, if powerful reinforcements be not immediately assured and sent them. A French Prince alone can make any considerable progress.

Religion also implores these succours. I left these people, who breathe contempt for the new clergy,

clergy, and respect for their ancient ministers, the majority of whom fill the prisons, or are daily thrown into dungeons by these virtuous men, who deprive them of their worship and their God. This portion of the clergy, whom perjury and impiety have separated from the church, have inspired, through the country, an abhorrence, which their conduct merited; and their sentence is every where pronounced. But this contempt for the ministry has unhappily produced an indifference for religion. Seconded by the corruption, and the agents of the Committee of Public Safety, this indifference will incline the people to the new worship, if their fathers are not soon restored to them, with a force and authority, that can protect them. This moral epoch of the revolution will be a crisis, the most fatal to Europe,

We must no longer think of the famines, of which news-papers have so long given us hopes. The Commune also adopted these means to attack the Convention; but now it is well provisioned; and though once scarce in the capital, but in general abundant in the environs, it has appeared again. Only some parts of France, particularly Guienne, experienced a total want. But beside the motive for spreading this plague over a province, where the Convention dreaded
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the effects of the federalists, the corn was every where taken away, and sent to the frontiers, to which abundance called new defenders. A portion was restored to the inhabitants of the interior, after the frontiers had been sufficiently provided. The exact distribution, which has been adopted in the departments for four months, and the subsequent economy, have taken away all reason of inquietude.

France is far from wanting grain; productive harvests will be peaceably gathered in from their most fertile soils. Agriculture has received the superintendance it demands, and the encouragements, which give it new force; and from a government, where the field of the soldier must be cultivated by his fellow citizen, from a country, where population, still sufficiently numerous for the extent of territory, restores in an instant to the fields the men, which the cities had received, we must banish famine from the number of the plagues, which the divine wrath seldom sends amongst men.

If bread was less abundant, more soldiers would flock to the frontiers; famine and robbery might desolate them in concert; but the allies would then have a new despair to combat,
another

another obstacle to conquer, and a greater danger to avoid.

The animals, which man has rendered necessary to his existence, are consumed quicker than nature can produce them; but the armies enjoy this dissipation; and the provinces add daily to the resources, by the regulations which they impose upon themselves, some voluntary, others in the name of the law; and this alone makes meat so scarce in certain cantons, and abundant in others, particularly in Normandy. Horses diminish, and perish, in a most sensible manner. The supplies, which the Convention procures in Switzerland, and by the assistance of the neutral powers, are overbalanced by the excessive consumption of the forced labours, convoys, and armies. Truth, however, obliges me to acknowledge, that agriculture uses nearly the same number of horses, that it requires. Luxury, commerce, and the conveniences of life, supply, indeed, this wonderful prodigality. The post roads, however, are as abundantly provided, as ever; and this service experiences neither interruption, nor delay.

Cloth is manufactured at Sedan, Louviers, and Elbœuf, and in the great manufactories, with less nicety,

nicety, but with more activity. The enhanced value, and the facility of eluding the law, which regulates their price, affords, to this branch of industry, the means, which the wools of France will possess for some time. They can clothe the nation, till the end of the year 1796. This precious animal hath been put under the immediate protection of the Convention; and the consumption is consequently diminished.

Iron, lead, and tin, is still in abundance; private houses, and public monuments are not all stripped of them. This immense resource has not, till now, been used by the tyrants. Brasses and bronze cover the roads and the rivers; and four thousand bells, now upon the quay of Rouen, are ready to submit to another form, and be founded into cannon. In this respect, all the departments present proportional resources; and by their use, the French nation flatter themselves to weary out the allied powers, and reduce them to acquiesce in the vanity of conquering France.

Leather, soap, and tallow, totally fail; and with the greatest difficulty does the individual, of the class of the people, procure a small portion of these objects of primary necessity. In many districts, and even at Paris, linen is washed

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with

with a preparation of chalk and grease. Persons in the most easy condition are forced to wear sabots*, and send their shoes to the armies. In some parts of the Republic, they have put into a state of requisition the wool, upon which men sleep, and the linen, which covers his body. There was a time, when this measure was near becoming general throughout France.

The people are every where plunged into the most deplorable misery⁽¹⁶⁾; butter, salted provisions, and roots, are all taken from them, and put into requisition for the benefit of the Republic; and to it they are forced to deliver, upon the first demand of a commissary, or administrator, the very provisions necessary to subsistence; and for the very animal, whose weight is inserted in the registry, they make him accountable. Oil, beer, and brandy, become daily more scarce; and the forage, and oats, are demanded before the harvest.

Personal corvées are every where imposed. The farmers, and labourers, are daily employed with their carts to transport the forage, &c. to the distance of fifty leagues, and dare not demand their reward. If any one refuses, or ob-

* Wooden shoes.

jects, he is dragged to prison; the father is obliged to denounce his own son, and prosecute him, though in requisition: whoever flies, or conceals himself, is reputed emigrant; and his family soon sees his property sequestered. Despair is general; but terror prevents its breaking out; the people are in want of the objects of necessity, they are promised future abundance and peace; they suffer, but they hope.

Saltpetre is obtained throughout the whole extent of France from a fertile (17) land, and is made with more success, than the first essays seemed to promise. Artists, sent into all the parts of the Republic, have instructed their pupils with the most incredible activity. A million of men are employed in this work, and the greatest encouragements are given to them. But the quantity of this element of destruction is nothing near proportional to the other means of war, and is in quality much inferior, to that of the foreign armies. The neutral Powers, however, come to the succour of France, and afford them the most brilliant hopes.

The Requisitions, this new kind of despotism, which applies solely to defence, equally affect the necessaries, mankind, and all the resources of society: the requisitions excite revolts, and insur-

regions, in the country and cities: but terror again seizes every character, and nothing can resist it. They persuade the nation of the necessity of fighting their enemies, whose courage they affect to conceal, under the names of cruelty. One portion of his property every Frenchman employs to preserve the other; and this they hope to ensure, by the treaty of peace, which the Departments think of making. The Committee of Public Safety also adopt this atrocious measure; and they can now dispose of their fortunes and actions, make migrations of men, like the emissions of assignats, and transport whole cities, and countries, upon every point of the empire.

Eight hundred and fifty thousand effective men fight under their orders; and this number may be augmented. After the harvests, and sowing season, have assured the future subsistence of these new soldiers, when they are no longer useful at home, we may fear, that France, in the end of the campaign, and appearances warrant the assertion, will add, to its actual means, those of a war, generally offensive, if the success of the Allies do not correspond with the hopes of those, who call for their succour.

In finances, the Convention is richer than united Europe. Seven-ninths of the soil belong

to the Republic ; and this continual pledge of paper credit is now become inexhaustible, by the rapidity, with which property is exchanged, and always to the advantage of the Assembly. They have already conceived the project to *nationalize* the whole soil of France, to register the territory, like a public debt, in the *grand livre* (¹⁸) ; and to resume the property of the clergy and nobility, purchased, as they pretend, at a price much inferior to their actual value.

The real value of assignats is determined by the law of the *maximum*, which regulates the price of every object of necessity, to which it applies. This law is easily eluded in the exchanges between individuals ; but this very circumstance assures the execution, in favour of the Republic : and it alone profits by it. Eight milliards* of assignats infest the circulation ; and this frightful truth the Committee of Finance have themselves attested. Every negociant in France knows, that from the facility of emissions, and

* In English money £.333,000,000, besides the funded debt. The Abbe Maury frequently foreboded ill to his country, from the excessive quantity of debt. Arthur Young estimated the national debt in 1789 at £.274,375,000 ; but in the report of Cambon, the six thousand millions (£.250,000,000 sterling) are now reduced to two thousand ; and the national creditors from 260,000, to 90,000.

the suppression of the numerical marks, the sum may yet be increased; and every Frenchman contemplates the catastrophe, which will destroy the small remains of his fortune.

The Assembly persuaded us, that the money would soon re-appear; but this hope is become the subject of every one's fears. The war does not leave them the choice of means; the sum total, of daily expenditure, amounts to fifteen or sixteen millions (between six and seven hundred thousand pounds). The preparations of the months of March and April, which the opening of the campaign demanded, cost from five to six millions (£.200,000 sterling) in addition; and the people now dread the issuing of a new paper currency, which might annihilate the assignats, as they absorbed the money, and which would be, alone, confined to the purchasing of national domains.

Near five hundred millions (about £20,000,000 sterling) in gold and silver are deposited in the coffers of the National Convention. The mint of Paris, to which was transported all the bullion of the suppressed provincial mints, contains near seventy millions (about £3,000,000 sterling) of metals; and daily additions are thrown in by deposits, collections, and penalties. The plunder
of

of the churches produced thirty-two millions, (near £. 1,350,000 sterling) ; and through the whole extent of France no longer now remains a sacred vase, not even in the domestic chapels. The last eight months the churches of Paris have been all shut, and in the provinces almost all successively.

Though improbable, it is not impossible, that the French Republic will one day present itself to combat with the money of every other nation, at a time, when they have spent all theirs, when France is freed from taxes, (the public domains making this easy) and when all the powers are reduced to the last extremity.

The Committee of Public Safety have abandoned the Colonies, persuaded, that the consumption in France was too necessary for Europe, and America, ever to be neglected. The means, the men, and energy, requisite to support the maritime force, will become a resource to their power at land ; and the people, accustomed to the want of luxuries, will require little of Europe, though it may always demand much of them. The Convention reasoning upon these principles, have so insinuated them into the nation, that it might destroy its ports, burn its vessels and ships ; and thus, returning to the
savage

savage life, inflict a mortal blow upon the commerce of Europe by the annihilation of its own; and at the last extremity they are resolved to employ this desperate alternative. They have lately experienced a complete defeat by sea; and from the combinations of pride in the members of the Committee of Public Safety, they will affect, I believe, an unimportance to the sending a new squadron to sea: nor will they do it.

I said, that Paris was the immense manufactory of the opinions, the arms, and the crimes of the Republic: the public mind finds no repose. Exhibitions are succeeded by executions; and these last are representations, necessary to perpetuate the popular frenzy, indispensable to the support of tyranny. The human mind is replete with curiosity; and the number of victims incessantly excites it, and is necessary to satisfy it.

With an heroic and never failing courage, the Royalists terminated a life, honourable even in death⁽¹⁹⁾; and this example, so magnanimous, but so doleful, of which the most virtuous of Kings, and greatest of Queens, left the model, appears now their last consolation.

Even

Even the villains, (from the Duke of Orleans and Father Duchêne, to Brissot and Danton) whose crimes at last conducted them to the scaffold, mounted it with a fortitude, truly astonishing, with a species of the rage of their opinions, or with the certainty, that they could not hope for pardon (²⁰).

The sex, to whom nature appeared to have solely granted sensibility, and grace, have surpassed, in force and courage, the most distinguished of their fellow citizens. But this generous devotion to their country affects not the multitude, so long misled, and whom their tyrants attempt to deprive of every sentiment of humanity (²¹). They have taken from the French people, even the remembrance of that urbane, and gentle character, which once distinguished them from other nations; and they plunge them into Rome and Athens, with all their own vices, with the hypocrisy of liberty, and the phantoms of their sovereignty.

The most incendiary journals, (²²) multiplied to an amazing extent, encourage the delirium; and the fame of victory, with hatred to the vanquished, is spread to the extremities of the empire, with a celerity and profusion, which increase the triumph. Misfortunes and defeats (²³) are

modelled with so much art, so dexterously suited to the circumstances and the people, that they are made the powerful means of encouragement, and the cause of all the sacrifices. France saw her enemies in her bosom; and their nearness to Paris demanded not the common arts of alarm. The retreat of the Duke of Brunswick extended the frontiers to the walls of the capital. In the imaginations of the people, a retreating foe is less dangerous, than one, who never advanced; and the French Revolution, as well as the armies, which support it, would soon have been endangered by that activity, which they now display, against their enemies. The slowness, the prudence, the military science, which direct the attacks, and trace the plans, and operations of the combined armies, as well as the views, which calumny and crime attach to them, tend to increase the number of their partizans, their communications, and wishes, in the interior of a country, governed by terror. But when terror shall have finally conducted to repose, when the habitude of sacrifices shall have subjected the demands of luxury to the more temperate enjoyments of safety, and personal tranquillity, (and such the tyrants dare to promise them) we fear, that the allied powers will not then remain with their armies in our country, where so many victims now call upon them.

Twenty-two thousand persons fill the prisons of Paris, or are guarded in their own houses. Six hundred and fifty-three thousand were detained in the departments at the epoch of the 26th of April⁽²⁴⁾; and this number has been augmented by all the members of the nobility, whom the decrees at that moment forced to leave Paris, the fortified places, and the maritime cities, and to present themselves, every day, to the municipality of the place, where they were permitted to fix their residence. Three hundred persons perish daily on the scaffold throughout the extent of France. The difficulty of escaping provokes suicide; and this is now become so common, it is scarcely noticed. Plunder, chagrin, and all the consequent evils, assist to depopulate the country. Upon the calculation of all these causes, joined to the civil and foreign war, France has lost twelve or thirteen hundred thousand men.

The departments, more retired from the enthusiasm and public infatuation of Paris, but who feel the wants of those things, necessary to the abundance of the capital, this focus of revolution, which to day impoverishes, by its crimes, the provinces, it once ruined by its luxuries, are more sensibly oppressed by the weight of the Revolution; and they detest it more. But too

many private interests bind them to their lot; and too many internal dangers, which menace them, prevent them from throwing off their yoke. Foreign protection is too distant, and uncertain, not to prefer the shame, and peace of slavery, to the convulsions, and dreadful consequences of a revolt. The discontented are every where; but none will rebel, unless they could be assured of victory, and peace.

L'Artois, Picardy, Brittany, and Normandy particularly, desire a new order of things. The entire mass of citizens in these provinces only wait for the means, a good opportunity, and leaders, to arise, and openly declare against the Convention. Normandy will open its Ports to the first squadron, which presents, and would rally, to a man, around the first White Standard, that shall float on its coasts, if she could hope for a sure protection; but she will not anticipate the succours, she implores.

Unless by the great success of the allied powers, unless by an explosion in the bosom of the Assembly, or at Paris, (but no deputy announces sufficient energy, and means to create an hope) we must not expect any great internal insurrection, favourable to the powers of Europe; and it would become impossible, should the
Committee

Committee of Public Safety oblige them to make peace. The deputies of great influence, even Robespierre himself, may go to the scaffold; and yet produce no essential change in affairs. The spirit of the Revolution may survive these events; and a new Assembly adopt their principles: The power is possessed by the *Sans-culotisme*, and requires all the efforts of united Europe to stop its progress.

Some deputies will, undoubtedly, perish victims of their base intrigues, and vile corruptions; their *insulated* projects will not affect the Committee of Public Safety, and their punishment will augment its power. Without a signal reverse of fortune in the armies of the Republic, we must not expect any great faction, or any great conspiracy, before the end of the campaign; but we may fear, that the Committee of Public Safety will, at this epoch, give a new form of government to France, and that Robespierre will be the chief. For the last seven months, it appears, he has projected to establish a senate, composed of few members, representative, and elective, assembled at a fixed period, and to be prorogued, or continued, at the will of a council: the members to be elective, and for life: their president perpetual, whose name is not yet determined on, and who, exercising every power
and

and act of royalty in the enslaved Republic, will be invested, even with the force of opinion; and thus grant to all the parties, which divide France, the image of what they desire, and defend them from what they fear. We must no longer dissemble, that the man, who can assure to the French Nation individual security, and property, is certain of reigning over her; and the general lassitude will sanction any form of government.

This project has been gradually executed for four months. The people have been deprived of the nomination to civil employs, and of Municipal, Judiciary, and Administrative, functions. The convocation of the Primary Assemblies is forbid. The Revolutionary regulations, the right of violating all law, even that which itself decrees, are consecrated, and necessarily established during the war. The Committee of Public Safety appoints to all places, and all authorities; its power was never greater, and though many of the Revolutionary Committees are deprived of their consequence, its authority was never more acknowledged. The projected modification of property occasions new crimes; and they daily drag to the scaffold, both the proprietors and the privileged order. The banishment of those, who have not perished, seems
resolved

resolved upon. The division of land amongst the army, and the necessary supporters of the new Government, the projected exemptions from taxes, may consolidate this new Government, and create a new people, who threaten to invade and overthrow all the kingdoms, and thrones, if Europe was not sufficiently strong to prevent it, or if too slow to fight them: every moment is of consequence.

“ *The French Republic shall perish, or Monarchy, and the Powers of Europe, shall end with the Century.*” These are the projects, which the Committee of Public Safety do not hesitate to publish; and these words Robespierre, and Barrere, cease not to pronounce.

Every day augments our fears: the crimes of France are exhausted; but the crimes of Greece and Rome begin. A new *Costume** has taken place in this nation, destined to preserve nothing of its habitudes, and antiquity. The empire of the senses rules the multitude; and the Grecian, and Roman robes, will soon deprive Frenchmen of the remembrance of their ancient country. Gymnasia, courses, and wrestlings—triumphal festivals, branches of oak, and the pantheon

* The Translator has preserved the word *Costume*, which relates, as he apprehends, to the dress of the body, the manners of a nation, and its particular modes of thought.

pantheon—theatres dedicated to the people, and formed upon the great models of antiquity, which ages have respected, will long time mitigate their slavery with the varnished colours of liberty. A religion, whose augurs bring down the Goddeses of Victory, and Justice, upon this renovated earth, may, perhaps, make their old regrets less poignant, and their new vows sincere.

These principles, which have given birth to public schools, sufficiently illustrate their intentions; and this generation, whose infancy has been nourished by crimes, they will make dangerous to the universe from the necessity of exercising its courage, and maintaining a military Republic; and by the dissemination of principles, the most false, but yet the most seductive, that men had ever to combat, we should, every where see a sovereignty usurped, a lawless equality, and robbery legitimated.

After this picture of the state of France, and the projects of its Tyrants, we may infer, that peace, accommodation, or negociation *with their Republic*, will be the most violent outrage upon social order. They wish to invade and destroy universal property: no treaty can be sacred with men, who swear to violate every thing. By obtaining a truce, Europe cannot avoid the calamities,

lamities, which hang over it. The germ of the Revolution must be extirpated out of France; or every Government will soon experience its own destruction.

To this end, the Committee of Public Safety, points all its efforts; and upon this principal object, they found the stability of their Government. A great part of their treasures, and numerous emissaries, are, every where, employed with an activity, and perseverance, equally indefatigable, to disseminate their principles, and their crimes. They endeavour to propagate them in Piedmont, Poland, Italy, Brabant, and even in England. A very large sum was remitted, for this purpose, to Warsaw, (²⁵) in the beginning of March; and all the precious stones of France were seized upon to tempt the Divan, and excite a powerful diversion, against the two Imperial Courts.

Such are the resources, and projects, of the Committee of Public Safety. Its projects can only perish with it: its resources, considerable, as they still are, are procured by the most violent measures; and its very continuation must destroy it.

The Committee of Public Safety can add nothing more to the terror, it inspires; but the allied powers may weaken it. They may direct this very terror, against the Committee, and find the greatest succours, and most powerful allies, in the general weariness of France: and let them publish to the wretched inhabitants, in the most positive manner, their invariable determination of prosecuting the war, till they shall have re-established monarchy, order, and property. The Committee of Public Safety are obliged to excuse even their victories, and by the hopes of peace, determine the people to continue the war. If at the end of this campaign, whatever be the success, the people are again forced to spend the remnant of their means in favour of their tyrants, and not obtain the expected peace, I hesitate not to declare, that the despair of repose will produce an explosion, fatal to their tyrants.

I also affirm, that, neither the Committee of Public Safety, nor the succeeding government, can resist for two years: they can obtain no supplies, but by penalties; and these revolutionary means must necessarily be destroyed, and annihilated by time. They flatter themselves with forcing the belligerent powers, this winter, to
peace,

peace, and to be at liberty to employ clemency, property, and repose, in such manner, as may consolidate their power, and disseminate their fundamental principles to the *extremities of the Globe.*(⁵⁶)

Such is the state of affairs: such the enemies that we fight: such the calamities and unparalleled crimes, which we must exterminate. Great as the dangers are, the means of eluding them are still more numerous; and it is, undoubtedly, more practicable to conquer, and annihilate such a government, than always to be guarding against their attempts.

But how to succeed? I pretend not to instruct the distinguished ministers, who direct the principal Cabinets of Europe. They could not know, what I have seen; and I therefore think it important to publish it. This summary may, perhaps, contain the most opposite contradictions; but do not forget, that a revolution produces, and explains them all.

From my exact knowledge of what passes in France, from the certainty of finding, as many

allies, as discontented, I think, it would not be difficult to effect great insurrections: but be not deceived on the choice of means, and be convinced, that we must not lose a moment to preserve Europe.

NOTES.

N O T E S.

Note (1) page 2.

Near 280 members never leave the Committees: 100, or 130, are sent to the armies, or in the Departments, in quality of Representatives of the People: and the rest do not regularly assist at the sittings of the Convention.

Note (2) p. 6.

Nine Millions (about £.375,000 sterling), have been employed, in embellishing the Palais of the Thuilleries, which a grate, in bronze, is intended to separate from the Caroufel. Eighty millions (near £.3,500,000 sterling), have been decreed to complete the canals; and forty millions to the repair of the high roads; upon which workmen are now employed. A great theatre, and the richest scenery and dresses, are destined for Grecian and Roman spectacles. The collection of the *Museum*, the richest of the globe, receives daily additions; and orders are given to finish the Palace of the Louvre.

Note—after Paris, l. 13, p. 10.

The National Convention, and the Thuilleries, were surrounded for three days, by seventy thousand men of the armed force; and through their ranks, successively, passed the members of the Brissotin, and Girondist, faction, whom the decree ordered to prison.

Note—after hiding place, l. 22, p. 10.

In the short space of four months, Marat was thrice concealed in the sewers of the Church of the Cordeliers; whence he sent forth his empoisoned paper, intitled, "*L'Ami du Peuple*,"

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They could not persuade him to submit to the decree against him, till fifteen days afterwards, when he was assured, he ran no risk.

Note—after Marat, l. 1, p. 11.

This fact, avowed by an intimate friend of Marat, is supported by every possible evidence, which can establish the truth. Marat felt his end approach; and he died, persuaded, that the poison, which consumed him, had been given him by Robespierre.

Note (3) p. 11.

It is beyond doubt, from the testimony obtained upon the place, by a Deputy of the Convention, who still possesses a great influence, amongst the Jacobins, that Robespierre employed Grangreneuve and Fauchet, to send Charlotte Corday (of the Department of Calvados to Paris,) and to engage her to assassinate Marat, persuading her, that he sought only the destruction of the Republic, by exciting the pillage, and plunder of property. The good of the Republic, therefore, prompted Charlotte Corday to sacrifice Marat.

Note (4) p. 11.

Gobet received from the Committee of Public Safety, eighty-five thousand livres (about £.3,540 sterling), to abjure, the next day, before the Convention, the character of Priest; and this Committee, two months afterwards, dragged him to the Revolutionary Tribunal (it is, perhaps, not unnecessary to remark, that the idea and establishment of this tribunal, was conceived by Danton, as well as the project of masses and requisitions), where one of the principal articles of accusation, brought against him, charged him with receiving from the *dis-organizers and Aristocrats*, the sum of eighty-five thousand livres (about £.3,540 sterling) to abjure his religion, and preach Atheism. Hebert waited every day upon the Committee of Public Safety, to receive for his paper, intitled, "*Le pere Duchesne*", the subjects of the morrow; and it cannot be denied, that Camille des Moulins gave the six numbers of the *Vieux Cordelier*,

Cordelier, at the repeated desire of Robespierre, who, persuaded that Camille was truly republican, and dreading his character and his principles, hurried him to the scaffold, which Camille had so frequently dyed with the blood of victims.

Note (5) p. 11.

La Croix, and three General Officers of the Northern army, attested to divers persons, that, in the month of June, Robespierre knew of the avarice of Danton, and that he long pressed him to go into Belgium, under assurance, that he would soon make the most considerable fortune; and that he should be invested with the plenary powers of the Convention, and have the direction of the money.

Note (6) p. 14.

Couthon is carried in an elbow chair, alternately, to the Convention, and the Jacobins. For eight months he has been unable to walk; but he is the more attentively assiduous in accomplishing the views, and projects of Robespierre. He is of no consequence individually. His fortune amounts to a million and a half (about £.62,500 sterling): Barrere has remitted three millions (£.125,000 sterling) into Italy and Denmark. Last November St. Just declared "*the Marquis of Fontvieille (his own name before the Revolution) is ruined by the Decrees; but an employment, and six months of Committeeship, will soon restore me, what I have lost.*"

Note (7) p. 15.

A Deputy, on his mission, ordinarily spends fifteen or twenty thousand livres (£.625 or near £.800 a month). The National Representatives travel in the carriages of the court, or of the Emigrants, drawn by six or eight horses: they every where keep an open table, empty the cellars, sequestered for the benefit of the nation, and addict themselves, without shame, to the most irregular inclinations. They have the power of life and death, and they daily consign victims to punishment, and receive money to restore them to liberty. André Dumont, has received immense sums at Abbeville, and Amiens, and in every

every part of Picardy, and has even purchased, in the name of Picot, the Hotel of Plouys, the most handsome in Abbeville; and hath commissioned him to purchase the land of the same name. Le Vasseur, has wrung from the *Aristocrats* of Lille, and Flanders, near six hundred thousand livres (£.25,000 sterling), and remitted it to Berne. Siblot, and Legendre, have received considerable sums in the Departments of the Eure, and the Lower Seine. Le Bon has plundered Arras of near five hundred thousand livres (about £.20,800 sterling), from sealing their papers, and from the relations of persons, he delivered over to the Revolutionary Committee. The most legal evidence establish all these facts.

Note (8) p. 17.

Henriot was once clerk at the barriers (*entrées*) of Paris, absolutely moneyless, debauchée, and drunkard. He was upon the point of being sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the punishment of Ronfin and Vincent; but promising implicit obedience to Robespierre, he was continued in his situation, although the warrant of judgment was signed.

Note (9) p. 18.

Payan, chief of the Commune of Paris, and a National Agent, came from Provence to Paris, by the orders of his master Robespierre. He is void of personal means, but a deep villain: in constitution he resembles his protector, and even in the weakness of his sight and loss of voice. Robespierre gave him in February, 17,500 livres, (about £.730 sterling).

Note (10) p. 20.

Two hundred new pieces have been performed since the 10th of August: it is impossible, without testimony, to form an idea of the immorality and ferocity, which they breathe. Barrere, speaking of the Theatre, in the tribune of the Convention, exclaimed, "*the inspid and affected Racine enervated mankind; but the writings of the Sans-culotte Crebillon are suited to Republicans.*"

Note

Note (11) p. 22.

All the great Hotels, Churches, and public places, are filled with forges, and military workshops ; but their labours are so precipitated, and their skill so trifling, that a great part of the musquets, which they make, are entirely defective.

Note (12) p. 23.

Forty-eight festivals have been celebrated at Paris, in honour of Le Pelletier, and Marat, each more disgusting than the other. Their mausolea are built in every Commune, and their busts, or images, are placed in almost every house of France. The orgies, which have sprang from the abolition of the Catholic worship, surpass every thing, that the human mind can imagine, of perversity, corruption, and atrocity.

Note (13) p. 25.

Couthon, and Collot d'Herbois (and this last is proved to have stolen, from the dead bodies, and ruins, which he multiplied at Lyons, two millions three hundred thousand livres in gold (about £.133,300 sterling), which he hath not accounted for to the Convention) have frequently repeated these very words at the tribune of the Jacobins, particularly after the surrender of Valenciennes, and the evacuation of Toulon.

Note (14) p. 27.

Cattle absolutely failed in the markets of Sceaux, and Poissy, in July and August last : Normandy, and Poitou, which supplied them, were in part possessed by the Royalists and Federalists. The army of the latter advanced as far as Pacy, above Vernon ; and about the same time, Valenciennes was taken : Toulon had opened its gates ; the inhabitants of Tours and Orleans awaited the Royalists ; and thirty three counter-revolutionary assemblies appeared in different parts of France. The National Assembly was in the most profound consternation ; the necessity of transferring the sitting of the Convention to the Comptat Vénaisin, was debated in the Committee of

Public Safety ; and such was the general disposition, that Louis would purchase 162 livres in assignats ; and even in May, notwithstanding the penalty of death, fifty, and fifty-five livres.

Note (15) p. 29.

It must be remembered, that I speak of the situation of La Vendee, towards the 20th of April. The great dearth, the difficulty of carrying on military operations, in a country, impassible six months in the year, and the deserts which surrounded its heroic defenders, occasioned their inaction, the dispersion of the armies, and the desertion of the peasantry.

Note—after capital, p. 30, l. 23.

The poor people of Paris were in want of bread, but the rich were always well provided. The corn was every where stopped by the Revolutionary army, or by the Commune of Paris ; and at night they brought in sufficient for the consumption of the morrow. Paris, which, in the month of October, required 1640 *setiers*, (each *setier* twelve bushels) of corn a day, consumed only 4 or 500, for more than six weeks. But this dearth was generally factitious, for the environs of the capital were always well provided.

Note (16) p. 34.

We must not conclude, from the misery, in which the people are plunged, that famine ravages France ; there will be no scarcity of corn this year. They force it from the people, in proportion to the harvest, and collecting it, in abundance, in the army granaries, leave, or distribute, in each district, the quantity, indispensibly necessary for the support of the inhabitants. This atrocious measure secures obedience to their ministers. The deprivation of every other necessary, confirms their misery, and denies the means of extricating themselves. The expectation of future happiness, and enjoyment, prolong their patience, and encourage them to support their evils.

Note

Note (17) p. 37.

Under the pretext of discovering saltpetre, they scrape the houses, buildings, and gardens, with so much perseverance, that they frequently find gold and silver, which terror had buried; and of which the law apportions a part to the informer.

Note (18) p. 40.

The Convention has entered the names of the *creditors of the Republic* in a book, which is now their only security; and have forced them to deposit, in the national treasury, the original contracts, under the penalty of being robbed of them, and of being treated, as well as their notaries, as suspected persons. Under the name of creditors of the Republic, they include, also, all the creditors of property invaded by the Revolution. All is confounded together in this great book, without distinguishing, or denominating their original pledge; they have no other security than a mark, *naming the sum due by the Republic*; no other surety than *the preservation of this book*; no other pledge than *the loyalty of the French Republic*.

The Convention has projected to act in the same manner with the proprietors of lands, and of *nationalizing* the French territory. The validity of possession being determined, it will be inscribed in the great book; and this will be the only security. By this means the whole of the public and private property will be at the disposal of the National Convention. These entries may be considered as a new species of assignats; are the means by which the Convention pays the creditors of the state; and are taken into the account in the payment of national property. On the first of May the assignats lost thirty-eight per cent. This new benefit favours the national sales, and restores the *inscriptions* to the treasury, where they are concealed. The distrust, which both the inscriptions and assignats create, obliges them to exchange their securities for the national lands, fearing that if the Republic should be destroyed, nothing will be paid; and the scaffolds and decrees daily restore to them a part of the property. Pursuing this species of robbery, and assassi-

nations, the Committee of Public Safety hopes to dispose of a part of the territory, in favour of the army and the Sans-culottes, and appropriate the remainder to the liquidation of taxes, and thus leave the nation, discharged of its debts, and assignats. The last year, the impositions amounted to two-fifths of the net revenue; and the directions of the decree, which ordered the levy of a forced loan of a milliard (about £. 41,666,000 sterling) were so managed, that the richest man could preserve no more than 4,500 livres (about £. 187 sterling) for his maintenance, and was obliged to give the remainder to the nation. This loan, however, only produced forty-three millions at Paris (about £. 1,800,000 sterling) where it should have produced double, and only three hundred and ninety-one millions (about £. 16,000,000) throughout the whole extent of France.

The project of inscriptions was conceived by Syeyes; and Cambon (the most ignorant of all the administrators of France) laboured upon the plan for nine months.

Note—after nobility, p. 37, l. 9.

The lands of the nobility are now every where sold; each purchaser believes his safety, ensured by this delapidation; and the most honest man is daily obliged to engage in it, hoping to find the means of tranquillity. But the Convention, who have levied contributions upon their fears, as well as their hopes, frequently sends to the same prison, both the proprietor and the purchaser: the last is as guilty as the first if he possesses the same fortune.

Note—after addition, p. 38, l. 14.

This calculation is mathematically exact. Last March cost eight hundred and thirty millions (near £. 34,600,000 sterling); and in the month of April the expenditure amounted to six hundred and forty millions (about £. 26,660,000 sterling).

Note (19) p. 40.

The Count l'Aigle thus addressed the multitude, "*It is not my head, but bread and your King, which you ought to demand.*"

M. de

M. de Laquiomarais incessantly cried, "*Vive le Roi*," as long as he had life; and M. de Tundutti also exclaimed, "*I die for my King, and you live to serve his assassins: I pity you; they pay you to applaud my death, but you cannot withhold your admiration.*" M. de Malhezerbes supported, with the peaceable courage of an irreproachable life, the clamours of ferocity. M. de Montjournain boldly avowed, before his executioners, his courage and misfortunes on the 10th of August; and after consoling the wretched, who were to follow him, he went from prison to the scaffold, and so astonished Robespierre, and the Committee of Public Safety, by his magnanimous resignation, that Robespierre himself avowed, that a Royalist alone could have written the last lines, that he traced to his wife, and his father, under the eyes of his assassins.

Note (20) p. 41.

Charlotte Corday died for the Republic with all the courage, with which the Roman women once astonished their age; and the Duke of Biron exclaimed to his judges, "*Yes! I merit death, and I fear not to avow it, for betraying my King, and serving his enemies.*" The Duke of Orleans hastened the execution of his judgment, and declared to the tribunal, who pronounced his sentence, "*I AM INNOCENT; but my death is necessary to your Republic; and I must submit.*" Danton cried to the people, "*Before six months you will tear to pieces, both my judges and my persecutors.*" Barnave, incessantly, repeated to the people, "*You merit not to be free; I despise you, and desire death.*" Heraut de Sechelles, whom his judges honoured with the accusation of having endeavoured to re-establish Royalty, answered with arrogance, "*I call these walls to witness, that I never ceased to combat despotism and monarchy.*" We must remember, that the Revolutionary Tribunal sits in the *Palais de Justice*; and that Heraut de Sechelles was the *Avocat General* of the Parliament of Paris. Camille des Moulins expired with all the heroism of vice, persuaded, that his wife would soon follow him; and Gorsas courageously supported the burthens of his song. Even Gramont, that wicked buffoon, who bathed himself for six whole days in blood, at the period

period of the 2d of September, gave his son as strong proofs of fortitude, as before he had done of crimes.

Note (21) p. 41.

The most atrocious abuse accompanies the condemned to the scaffold; and it is not uncommon to see children of ten to twelve years suck *the blood that falls*.

Note (22) p. 41.

There are eighty-seven news-papers at Paris; and every Municipality receives, at least, two or three, as well as a number of addresses and proclamations.

Note (23) p. 41.

The capture of Landrecies, an event decisive to the opening of the campaign, produced no sensation at Paris, amongst the people, but a very strong one in the Committee of Public Safety, and in the Convention.

Note (24) p. 43.

Two-thirds of the arrested in Paris, and the departments, are guarded by one, or two Sans Culottes, and are obliged to pay them six livres a day. They answer for the person of the prisoner to the Committee of Public Surety.

Note—after upon, p. 47, l. 1.

By banishment we must understand the massacre of all the individuals, they condemn to this punishment. They will never give themselves the trouble to transport them to Cayenne or to *Port Marat* (Port Dauphin in the island of Madagascar). They confine them in boats, and being scuttled, the vessel soon sinks. This measure was thrice put into execution upon the Loire, and six hundred and forty persons thus perished in the last transportation.

Note (25) p. 49.

Eleven millions and an half (near £. 500,000.) in gold and silver,

silver, were sent in February, and March, into Poland. The fact is avowed by many deputies of the Convention, and by one of the persons, who remitted it into Switzerland.

Note (26) p. 51.

The Committee of Public Safety depend so much upon the disunion of the belligerent powers, and upon the misunderstandings of the cabinets, that there passes not a day, when these ill-founded hopes are not presented to the people in all the journals, even in those of the Convention. Robespierre flatters himself with the hope, that fatigue, and the want of resources, will, successively, detach, from the general coalition, the sovereigns of those states, whose situation seems to defend them from the principles, and armies of France. He was persuaded, at the opening of the campaign, that the allies would not be able to support a fourth; he thought and even said to a Deputy of the Convention, Member of the Committee of General Surety, "*Fear, gold, and intrigue, will soon detach some ally from this formidable league.*"—" *It is not the defeats, they experience, but the faults, they commit, which cause our successes,*" said the impudent Barrere, on 22d April, "*our greatest victories, we do not speak of.*" He acknowledged to three of his intimate acquaintance, "*that the war must be terminated this year, or the Guillotine, and the Convention could go on no longer.*" Robespierre said, *I coin money*, speaking of the victims, he sends to the Revolutionary Tribunal. In no age, ever existed a proscription, so durable as that of the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Revolution stalks with giant strides over Europe; and universal property is promised to the French Sans-culottes: but I repeat, that the Convention cannot resist a fourth campaign, nor the revolution two years of war.

Note—after attempts, p. 51, l. 14.

The Jacobins, and the Convention, are strengthened by the terror, which they inspire into the Courts of Europe. They continually persuade the people, that the Sovereigns acknowledge, and respect the deputies of the Convention, and the
Constituted

Constituted Authorities. Every representative in the armies, and departments, receives orders from the Committee of Public Safety to encourage this opinion in the course of his mission. A villain, called Dufourny, repeated, last January, at the Tribune of the Jacobins, during the purifying scrutiny of their members, "*Let us all rejoice, brethren, and Citizens, with the immortal Drouet, and the other virtuous citizens, whom treason have plunged into dungeons. Be easy upon their lot: our enemies dare not attempt their lives: they know well, that all the Kings of Europe would answer for it. We shall soon see again, in our bosom, these martyrs of liberty.*" Amar and Geffroy hold the same language at the Committee of General Surety. The Jacobins think themselves more dreaded, than they are; and I affirm, that the day when the French people shall cease to be persuaded of their power, is the day, they have most to fear.

By the daily promises of approaching peace, and by the persuasions, that the victims, whose blood the scaffolds daily shed, are their enemies, the Committee of Public Safety continue to dispose of the means of France: but weariness, and despair are general. Since the month of February, Robespierre was so alarmed by it, that he resolved to attempt a general attack upon all the points of the empire, and to make the most violent efforts against the allies. The Convention can neither a long time sustain nor renew these efforts, if obliged to continue the war. Robespierre will sacrifice every thing to terminate it this year; he will be obliged this winter, to give a government, and repose to France, (all the great resources of war being spent) or to dread an explosion, as decisive, as inevitable.

N. B. With repugnance, and violence to my feelings, I have scrupulously, and literally, adhered to the words, by which the crimes of France are cherished; but this circumstance will attest my attention to truth; and the proofs of whatever, I have advanced, have been acquired by the most credible means.

